Neutral.

1. Dr. (Mrs.) S. Muthulakshmi Reddi.
2. Rao Sahib L. C. Guruswami.
3. Mr. V. I. Muniswami Pillai.
4. Mr. B. Ramachandra Reddi.
5. Kumara Raja of Venkatagiri.

Ayes 44. Noes 39. Natural 5.

The motion was carried. (Cries of "Resign, resign" from the Congress benches.)

RESOLUTIONS ON MATTERS OF GENERAL PUBLIC INTEREST—*cont.*

SUPPLY OF WATER-HOSES, TEAR-BOMBS, ETC., TO THE POLICE.

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The Council will now resume discussion of motions on matters of general public interest."

4-15 p.m. * Rajkumar S. N. DORAI RAJA :—"Mr. President, Sir : I beg to move the following resolution, viz.—

> '*This Council recommends to the Government that they be pleased to supply the police with water-hoses, tear-bombs and similar other contrivances for reducing to a minimum the chances of opening fire on riotous and unruly mobs.*'

"I am of opinion that this resolution is as necessary as it is reasonable, and I am fortified in this opinion by appreciating references that appeared in some of the daily papers here and in other parts of India about this resolution. It is true that the Government is responsible for the preservation of law and order, and it is equally true that a model citizen should be peaceful and law-abiding. Man is a creature of impulses and moods. When swayed either by excessive passion, enthusiasm or zeal, he is apt to lose his mental balance in consequence of which he inevitably comes in collision with forces of law and order. It is equally true that the guardians of peace, i.e., the police, being men are apt to lose their mental balance when confronted with critical and dangerous situations. In this connexion, Mr. President, let me say that tact, courage and patience hitherto exhibited by some of our high police officers, both European and Indian, when confronted with such dangerous and cri ical situations were not only commendable but also commended our approval and appreciation. Individually, Mr. President, an Indian is as peaceful a citizen as any nation can have but unfortunately an Indian mob when excited can be as dangerous as any in this world. To employ sufficient force to control an unruly mob is no doubt the duty of the Government, and the weapons hitherto employed to quell this sort of disturbances were the rifle and the bayonet. The State has a duty to protect its peaceful citizens from riotous mobs ; but, Sir, the remedy may not be and should not be worse than the disease it tries to cure. Water-hoses and tear-bombs that are used with success on such mobs which are composed of more dangerous elements in some civilized countries may be and shall be tried here. If they are used with circumspection and caution they ought to serve us here equally well. Only the other day I read in the papers in one of the countries, the name of which I forget, that an unruly and dangerous mob was not only controlled but dispersed by the use of tear-bombs. They came to do mischief but went away laughing. At the worst of time, even when it is inevitable, it is not a pleasant or sporting job to pour bullets into the thick of these unruly and riotous people even as an answer to 'brick-bats.' It is only fair, Mr. President, that the police should be given more chances to desist from firing, and these riotous and unruly people should be given more

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chances of living even in spite of themselves. Apart from the fact that prevention is better than cure, there is this additional advantage that a gassed man can easily be identified as one of those that had a hand in it. But shooting besides killing two or three stampedes the crowd into dispersing, and when the final round-up comes days after, even the innocent as a rule do suffer more than the guilty. Mr. President, I have said enough. I hope to convince all reasonable men that my resolution is an useful and reasonable one, and knowing as I do that our Government is a very humane Government composed of sportsmen, I am sure when I appeal to them as I am doing at present to adopt my humble suggestions contained in this resolution I will not appeal in vain."

* Mr. S. ARPUDASWAMI UDAYAR :—" Sir, I have very great pleasure in seconding this resolution. I think it is a very important and one of the most useful resolutions. Many people have been trying to devise means of controlling mobs, and I feel proud that my friend Rajkumar Dorai Raja, with whom I have moved when he was a student, has suggested a very good means of controlling the mobs and dispersing them. Sir, there are three classes of people that go to make up this mob. When you hear of a tragic incident you will find that most of the people who form the crowd there are mischief makers. These people on such occasions succeed very well in promoting their own object. These people are eager for such opportunities. Secondly, as soon as the relations of some people who have accident are informed of it, they rush in large crowds. They are innocent people and they are eager to be very near the spot to see whether there is any chance of their relations surviving. Then there are a third class of people who are attracted there, people who have no occupation, idlers, and who flock there out of curiosity to know what is going on there. It often happens that the crowd is sometimes very unruly. The people behind are pushing those in front. Unless some kind of order can be maintained, it is difficult to disperse them. They get out of control. If the means suggested by the hon. the Mover of the resolution were adopted, then it will be possible for the police, without recourse to firing, to disperse the crowd. (Mr. C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar: Why not chloroform ?). If there are very clever people like my friend with chloroform, I have no objection. But only there is no time to administer it. The Police sometimes lose their presence of mind, especially when they see a large crowd of 6,000 or 7,000. Suppose they begin to charge, that will give rise to greater confusion, and some people will be pushed down and injured. Suppose they have instructions to open fire; if they shoot high, the bullet hits somebody, an innocent man or child, who is on the top of a tree or of a building. If they shoot below, it may hit the legs of someone who is too weak to run. These bullets may reach persons who are attracted by a great curiosity to know what is going on. It may happen that people who actually sustain injury are innocents. This will give rise to much heart-burning. If the means that have been adopted in other countries for controlling and dispersing mobs be adopted here, I think it will give satisfaction to all and we will have a very innocent and harmless means of averting injury to human life in dangerous situations. For these reasons, I second the resolution of my friend, Mr. Dorai Raja."

Mr. G. HARISARVOTTAMA RAO :—" Mr. President, Sir, I rise to oppose this motion. I am not an expert in explosives, and the British Government has

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given no chance to Indians to become an expert in explosives, unless it is revealed to me on the floor of this House whether the Government has established a secret society to teach the constituent elements of explosives. The complaint against the Police in this country has not been that they have misused arms, but that they have shot down people without giving sufficient warning. Law and order is now exclusively the right of the bureaucrat, and as long as that is the exclusive right of the bureaucrat, and as long as the people in this country are not in a position to gauge the exact effect of the instruments that are placed in the hands of the bureaucracy, it is much safer for us to leave the present to itself. We are in a very unfortunate condition. I admit it is quite possible that methods of dispersing crowds through explosives or other substances, through water-hose and other contrivances, may be of some advantage if we have the control of the Police ourselves.

4-30 p.m. "I feel, Sir, that there is absolutely no doubt whatever that whatever contrivances we may give to the Police, they will be used as additional contrivances to subjugate our people further, to suppress them further and to give them no quarter whatever. I am certain that evidence will be adduced, I am certain that pleas will be set up, and there will be no chance for us to understand exactly what the Police will do. I would have given some credence to our friend Mr. Dorai Raja's motion, if he were an expert in explosives. He is not an expert. I am certain he is not an expert. The British Government have not given him facilities unless there is a secret society established by the Government itself. (Cries of : Pudukkottai.) I am not sure there are societies there to teach him the art of making explosives. There is nothing new in this country to warrant our interference with the methods employed by Government to disperse crowds Our complaints have always been that the Police have been conducting themselves in a tyrannous manner, in a manner that is least conducive to the well-being of the people of this country. And, if this Government chooses to suggest better methods, it is for them to come forward and explain through their experts how they consider that these things are more useful in the business of dispersing crowds. It is not for a lay Member of this House to come forward with a suggestion of this sort after reading some journals or magazines that write on this subject. I am sure Mr. Dorai Raja understands the motives with which I am opposing this motion. Such a motion should come from the Government. As long as such a motion comes from a Member on the other side, from the benches behind the Government, there is a great deal of thought to be exercised over it before any consent can be given to it. If the Government had brought forward this motion straight, that is a different matter. That they should have chosen to bring this motion through an ordinary Member on their side, if at all they are going to support him, makes me hesitate before giving my vote. I should suspect that this will be used to repress the people much more, and to establish pleas of having used proper judgment at the proper time. Our whole complaint against the Police is that they are not exercising proper judgment at the proper moment, that they are not under control and that therefore lives are being lost. We have not yet come to the stage when we can complain about the instruments that are used for dispersing crowds. It is for the Government to come forward and say boldly and frankly and explain to us what such a motion would come to. I therefore oppose this motion, and through you, Sir, request every Member of this House to throw it out."

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* The hon. Khan Bahadur Sir MUHAMMAD USMAN SAHIB Bahadur :—"Mr. President, Sir, the object of this resolution is to reduce to a minimum the chances of opening fire on riotous and unruly mobs. I am glad that the hon. Mover of this resolution realizes that there are occasions when the Police have to open fire. All that he wants is that we should try to minimise the occasions when such a thing should occur. The point to be examined is whether the machinery proposed will be effective or not. He wants that the policemen should be supplied with water-hoses. A water-hose can be successful in its working only if it is confined to a narrow space. It may not at all be effective when the space is broad and its use will have to depend upon the head of water-supply. Unless and until we are assured of it, it is not possible to put water-hoses into operation. As for the tear-bomb, I find that in Shanghai the Police are using it. That is the system there for dispersing crowds. There is a very interesting article on the subject published in the January 1928 issue of the journal of the United Service Institution of India. Besides that, we have no practical experience of its employment successfully in any civilized country. The difficulty with regard to its use is that though by throwing the bomb we can blind the people for 20 minutes and frighten them, one has to be very careful in using it. Sometimes it may so happen that the persons who use it, by some mistake or other, make themselves the victims rather than the mob. Further in a hot country like India the bomb may be absolutely ineffective due to climatic conditions. Under these circumstances, I do not think that what has been proposed by my hon. Friend is always an effective machinery for lessening or minimising the chances of opening fire. The suggestion is a novel one, and the tear-bomb has been successfully employed only in Shanghai. Therefore, I am prepared to have the question examined. It is not possible for me to accept the resolution without examination."

* Rajkumar S. N. DORAI RAJA :—"I am astounded at the ignorance of my hon. Friend from Kurnool. He professes to be a friend of the people and stand for independence, and yet he comes and opposes the simple proposition that I have made to-day to help the people. He prefers the help of the Government and the Police and attributes motives to me and through me to the Government because I have thought of a simple device and want to give more chances to the unruly and riotous people even though sometimes firing is necessary at them when their intention is to do great damage to person and property. (Cries of hear, hear.) (Dr. B. S. Mallayya: 'Remove the toddy shops.)' My hon. Friend is as great an authority on toddy as on chloroform. I dare say this is not a subject which is of importance to the Madras Government alone. It is a subject of all-India importance. In view of the very sympathetic reply given by the hon. the Home Member . . ."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"If the hon. Member is withdrawing his motion, he is not entitled to make a statement."

* Rajkumar S. N. DORAI RAJA :—"I am only explaining."

* The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"According to the Standing Orders, no Member should be allowed to make a speech if he is withdrawing his motion."

* Rajkumar S. N. DORAI RAJA :—"Then I beg leave to withdraw, Sir."

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The hon. the PRESIDENT :—"The hon. Member has made a speech and so he cannot withdraw his motion."

The resolution was put and declared lost.

Rajkumar S. N. Dorai Raja demanded a poll, and the House divided thus :—

Ayes.

1. Rajkumar S. N. Dorai Raja.
2. Mr. S. Arpudaswami Udayar.
3. The Zamindar of Gollapalli.
4. Diwan Bahadur P. C. Ethirajulu Nayudu.

Noes.

1. The hon. Sir Norman Marjoribanks.
2. ,, Khan Bahadur Sir Muhammad Usman Sahib Bahadur.
3. ,, Mr. T. E. Moir.
4. ,, Diwan Bahadur M. Krishnan Nayar.
5. ,, Mr. M. R. Seturatnam Ayyar.
6. ,, Mr. S. Muthiah Mudaliyar.
7. ,, Dr. P. Subbarayan.
8. Rao Bahadur C. V. Anantakrishna Ayyar.
9. Mr. C. B. Cotterell.
10. ,, H. A. Watson.
11. ,, C. A. Souter.
12. ,, S. H. Slater.
13. ,, A. McG. C. Tampoe.
14. ,, C. W. E Cotton.
15. ,, M. A. Manikkavelu Nayakar.
16. ,, J. Bheemayya.
17. ,, R. Foulkes.
18. ,, Muppil Nayar of Kavalappara.
19. Subadar-Major S. A. Nanjappa Bahadur
20. Mr. K. Krishnan.
21. ,, N. Siva Raj.
22. ,, M. V. Gangadhara Siva.
23. Rao Sahib L. C. Guruswami.
24. Mr. V. I. Muniswami Pillai.
25. ,, Daniel Thomas.
26. Rao Sahib R. Srinivasan.
27. Mr. G. R. Premayya.
28. Swami A. S. Sahajanandam.
29. Mr. Sami Venkatachalam Chetti.
30. ,, S. Satyamurti.
31. ,, C. V. Venkataramana Ayyangar.
32. ,, T. Adinarayana Chettiyar.
33. ,, P. Anjaneyulu.
34. Abdul Hamid Khan Sahib Bahadur.
35. Mr. C. S. Govindaraja Mudaliyar.
36. ,, G. Harisarvottama Rao.
37. ,, C. N. Muthuranga Mudaliyar.
38. ,, K. V. R. Swami.
39. Dr. B. S. Mallayya.
40. Mr. K. R. Karant.
41. ,, M. Narayana Rao.
42. ,, A. Parasurama Rao.
43. ,, C. Ramasomayajulu.
44. Basheer Ahmad Sayeed Sahib Bahadur.
45. Mr. P. Bhaktavatsalu Nayudu.
46. Sriman Biswanath Das Mahasayo.
47. Mr. A. Kaleswara Rao.
48. ,, R. Srinivasa Ayyangar.
49. ,, K. Koti Reddi.
50. ,, L. K Tulasiram.
51. ,, K. V. Krishnaswami Nayakar.
52. ,, K. Madhavan Nayar.
53. ,, C. Venkatarangam Nayudu.
54. ,, K. S. Sivasubrahmanya Ayyar.
55. ,, A. Ranganatha Mudaliyar.
56. ,, Ramanath Goenka.
57. ,, R. Nagan Gowda.
58. ,, K. R. Venkatarama Ayyar.
59. ,, B. Ramachandra Reddi.

Neutral.

1. Mr. S. Venkiah.
2. ,, V. Ramjee Rao.
3. ,, K. Ramachandra Padayachi.
4. The Zamindar of Kallikota.
5. Mr. P. C. Venkatapati Raju.
6. ,, J. A. Saldanha.
7. ,, D. Narayana Raju.
8. ,, C. Obi Reddi.
9. ,, K. P. Raman Menon.
10. The Raja of Panagal.
11. Rao Bahadur Sir A. P. Patro.
12. Mr. T. K. Chidambaranatha Mudaliyar.
13. Khan Bahadur T. M. Moidoo Sahib.
14. Rao Bahadur K. Sitarama Reddi.
15. ,, B. Muniswami Nayudu.
16. Diwan Bahadur A. M. M. Murugappa Chettiyar.
17. The Kumara Raja of Venkatagiri.

Ayes 4. Noes 59. Neutral 17.

The resolution was lost.